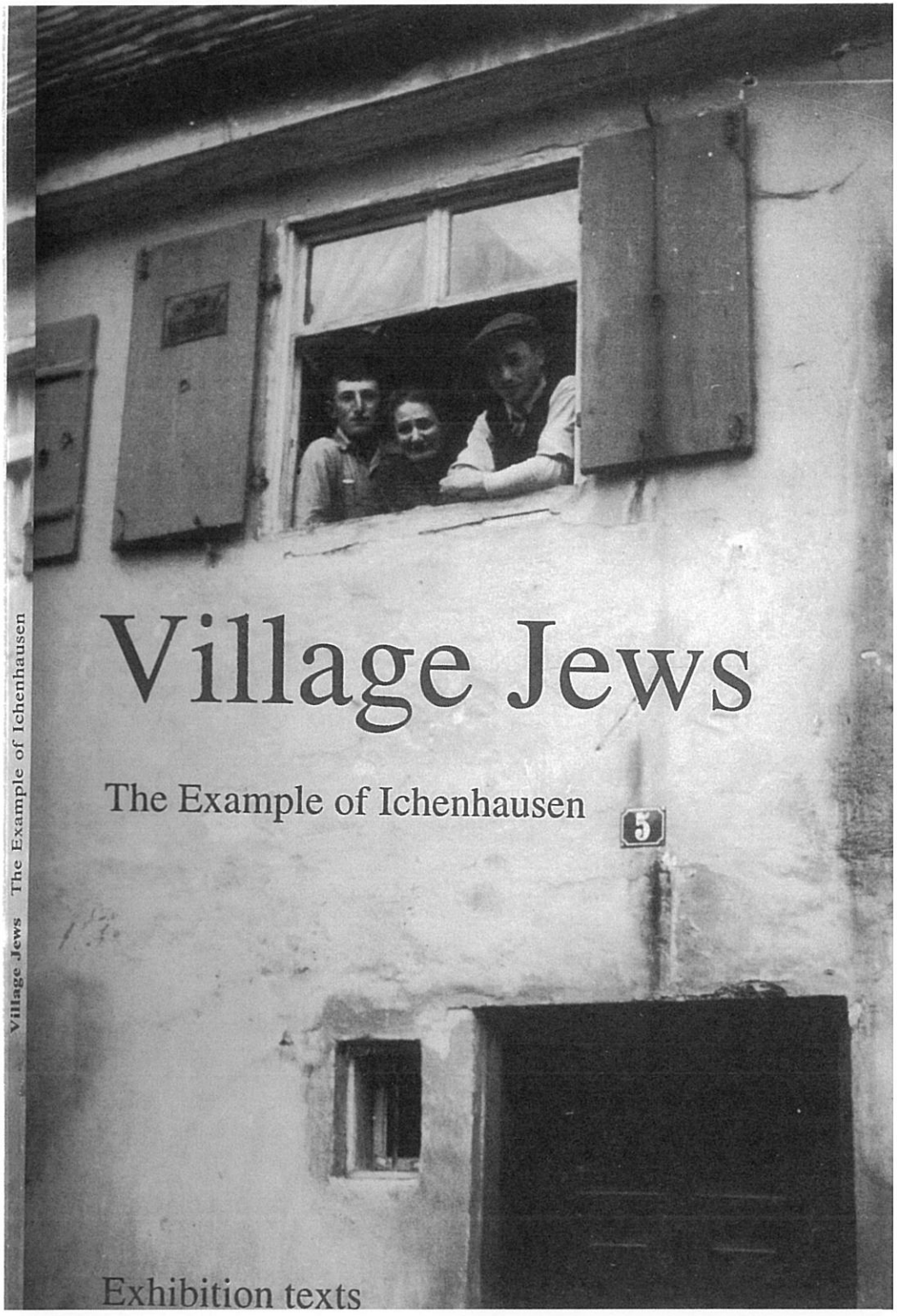

Village Jews The Example of Ichenhausen

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Village Jews The Example of Ichenhausen
Texts accompanying an exhibition in the former synagogue of Ichenhausen
Haus der Begegnung.
München: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 1991

Translation by Michal Friedlander, London

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Village Jews

The Example of Ichenhausen

Exhibition texts

Preface

In 1991, the Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte in collaboration with the Foundation Ehemalige Synagogue Ichenhausen, organized an exhibition in the former synagogue concerning rural Jewish life and using the community of Ichenhausen as an example. Nearly fifty years ago, the expulsion and annihilation of Jewish fellow citizens under the National Socialist regime put a dreadful end to a relationship which had evolved over several centuries and had signified a peaceful and fruitful coexistence between Germans of the Jewish and Christian faiths. We wanted to document this evolution and remember the human suffering and appalling losses caused by an unjust regime.

With a description of the fate of a significant rural Jewish community, we have continued our endeavours with regard to this part of Bavarian history, first manifested in the 1988 exhibition "Behold the stone shall cry out of the wall. The history and culture of Jews in Bavaria."

The Ichenhausen documentation has received attention and approval both at home and abroad. It became clear that there was a desire for an English version of the texts for the non-German speaking public and the Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte has happily undertaken this task in its capacity as an educational facility. Translations of the text panels and picture captions are collected in the accompanying booklet. An introduction brings the text together and introduces the catalogue for this exhibition.

Lastly, two maps are included for visitors unfamiliar with the area. They show the most important Jewish institutions in Ichenhausen and indicate the path to the Jewish cemetery, the most impressive evidence, next to the synagogue, of a once flourishing community. No interested person should forgo a visit to this place of eternal rest.

Claus Grimm

Director
Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte

Jews in Ichenhausen
An Overview

Four hundred years of Jewish life in Ichenhausen span the time between the first documented evidence of a Jew in 1541 and the deportation to Auschwitz in 1943 of the last ten Jewish citizens. They were years of coexistence with Christian neighbours and slow integration into the social and political community of a small Swabian town. The Ichenhausen Jewish community was no ordinary one. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community constituted nearly half the local inhabitants and was the second largest in Bavaria, following Fürth (the "Bavarian Jerusalem".) Yet the Jews of Ichenhausen were representative of rural Jewry in southern Germany with regard to their way of life and pattern of settlement. They were compelled to live in the countryside after expulsion from cities around 1500 up until the reforms of the nineteenth century. In rural areas, Jews developed their own tradition, as upholders of Jewish faith and culture.

The first Jew in Ichenhausen of whom there is documentary evidence is David Jud von Burgau zu Ichenhausen in 1541. His origin from the Burgau Margravate is indicative of the power structure of the "Land" which made Jewish settlement possible following expulsion from large cities. The Margravate, a possession of the Hapsburg House since 1301, was not a wealthy territory and the right to admit and protect Jews was one of its most important and financially significant privileges. The fact that in the sixtheenth century the surrounding "Reichsstädte" ("imperial towns") and "Landstädte" ("county towns"), among them Ulm and Augsburg, would tolerate no more Jews within their walls, contributed considerably to its significance. Any Jew wishing to conduct business or lend money in the city would have to settle in a village in the neighbouring countryside. The price of toleration was heavy taxation, and from the perspective of the ruling authorities, the admission of Jews was the result of exclusively fiscal considerations.

Such financial reckonings can be assumed in the case of Ichenhausen. The rulers of the region at that time were the financially insecure Edlen von Roth who in 1574 had sold their ruling rights to the Freiherrn (Barons) vom Stain. As a money lender, they would have found David Jud to be an affluent tax-payer. Moreover, he was not the only Jew to settle there. In 1543/45, Chaim ben David Schwartz from Prague printed religious books in Ichenhausen, thereby verifying the existence of a small Jewish community. In 1567, there is evidence of 13 Jewish households in Ichenhausen liable for tax, mostly homes of traders with relatively secure incomes. At the height of religious intolerance, on the eve of the 30 Years War, Jews were able, by means of an imperial privilege, to avoid threatened expulsion from Ichenhausen.

Circumstances improved enormously for the Jewish community due to the division of Ichenhausen from 1567 between two lines of the vom Stain family. Both lines of the family encouraged Jewish settlement, apparently compelled by the discrepancy between their economic foundations and administrative expenditures. At the end of the seventeenth century there were an estimated 250 Jewish inhabitants, and the figure climbs until 1770, with 750 to 850 inhabitants in 149 households. Finally, in 1806, 192 families numbering 1000 people can be counted - approximately 40 % of the entire population. Ichenhausen also offered favourable conditions as a place of commerce for a variety of trading activities. Jewish enterprises contributed to its growing significance as an economic centre. Jewish peddlers from Ichenhausen supplied the rural population in a wide vicinity.

Admittedly, life in Ichenhausen was no paradise for the Jews. However, they had autonomy in all religious and minor civil matters. They had their own community president and rabbinical jurisdiction. They had a cemetery as early as 1567 and began to construct their first synagogue in 1687. Yet they lived in cramped conditions that are difficult to imagine. A local map from 1750 shows the incumbent Jewish population crowded into 40 buildings - this meant at least three families per house - and the number of houses grew appreciably slower than the number of people. These houses did not constitute a ghetto, but Jews were shut out of the High Street and Market Street, where until 1808 only Christians were permitted to live. The pattern of Jewish settlement was like a garland surrounding the core of the town. Accordingly, the imposing synagogue from 1781 still stands on a side street.

In 1806, the Margravate of Burgau fell to the Kingdom ("Königreich") of Bavaria. The consequent nominal improvement in the legal status of Ichenhausen's Jews was countered by a number of disadvantages, especially since the promises of the Bavarian Constitution of 1818 were only honoured decades later.

Although Jews were now recognized as citizens and members of the political community of their domicile, and although housing restrictions had been lifted, taxes payable to the local ruling authorities nevertheless continued (until 1848), resulting in much debate. Furthermore, the Jews lost the autonomy in religious matters which they had held until that time: a synagogue order regulated services, and from 1812, there was a state-controlled Jewish school. Jews were obliged to take German names and their economic activities were subject to the mistrustful supervision of the state which sought to repress Jewish goods and retail trade, and to reorganize trade, agriculture, factories and wholesale businesses. The most repressive act was the so-called "Matrikelparagraph" in the Jewish edict of 1813. This established the number of Jewish households in each place and an entry in the register was a prerequisite for citizens' rights in the respective place. The 205 numbers found in the Ichenhausen register apparently correspond to the number of families at that time. Yet already by 1819, there were 215 families; in 1830, 217 families and the highest number of Jewish inhabitants in Ichenhausen: around 1300

people. It seems that the local ruling authorities did not take the state requirements on the limitation of numbers too seriously. It is clear from the increase in numbers that the regulation had not accounted for population growth, and consequently some young people were compelled to emigrate. After 1840 at the latest, there was a slow drop in the Jewish population which rapidly accelerated after the abortive 1848 revolution. Jews emigrated abroad, overseas, and after the repeal of the "Matrikelparagraphen" in 1861, they emigrated to neighbouring cities. Emigrants from the Rosskoamm, Koschland, Gerstle and Laemmle families became rich and famous in the United States. By the time Bavaria was annexed to the Prussian Kingdom in 1871, the Jewish population in Ichenhausen had nearly halved in size.

The German kingdom brought complete equality of rights to the Jewish citizens of Bavaria with a law passed in 1871. The number of Jewish inhabitants in Ichenhausen, however, dropped even further, from 699 (in 1871) to 309 (in 1933). Nevertheless, the period of the kingdom should be regarded as a social heyday for the community. Those who remained had a sound economic basis; Jewish economic strength, expecially in the manufacture of and the trade in textiles, was a considerable factor prompting the elevation of the market town of Ichenhausen to city status in 1913. Extensive integration of the Jewish citizens came about including participation in community politics, lively social contact between Christians and Jews, and Christian and Jewish societies. Religion might have set up certain barriers which could barely be crossed, but each side respected the other's views and lifestyles. The experience of the 1870-71 war also contributed to integration. From it arose a great amount of shared patriotism for the Reich, which was cultivated by a veterans' society. Jewish citizens enlisted in the First World War in 1914 with as much enthusiasm as their Christian neighbours. Of the 90 soldiers from Ichenhausen who fell in the war, 13 were Jews; in their honour, the Jewish community set two commemorative plaques on either side of the Torah ark in the synagogue.

The phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which was already utilized in political canvassing in the period of the Kaiser, seemed to have escaped Ichenhausen up until the First World War. The personal integrity of the Jewish citizens and their economic significance was too evident in Ichenhausen for anti-Semitic sloganeering to find an audience. It was only under the economic conditions of the Weimar Republic that political polarization and anti-Semitic demonstrations came about. For the most part, Ichenhausen's Jews supported the Social Democrats and the liberal German Democratic Party, who supported the Weimar constitution and rejected anti-Semitism. The first swastikas were painted in 1920, and in the winter of 1921-22, the cemetery was desecrated for the first time. In 1923, a local group of the NSDAP came into being in the district town of Günzberg and soon after, swastika grafitti was found in Ichenhausen along with anonymous defamatory flyers. The district council unanimously endorsed a written protest by the Jewish community against the accusations and condemned the anti-Semitic rabble-rousing propaganda

as an attempt, "to destroy the holy interdenominational peace which has been preserved in our little town for centuries."

By comparison with other towns, it remained calm in Ichenhausen during the first years of the Nazi regime. The process of the deprivation of rights developed insidiously. Already by 1933, Jewish district council delegates had to leave the city council; between 1933 and 1936, Jewish members had to resign from societies; and from 1936, Jews could no longer employ Christian servants. However, the Jews of Ichenhausen were too bound up in their hometown and the graves of their ancestors to read the writing on the wall through which they might have been persuaded to emigrate. By 1938, already a third of the Jewish population of Germany had emigrated, one sixth of the Jewish citizens had left Ichenhausen. Those who remained sought consolation in religion and in cultural events organized by the Jewish community. Only after "Kristallnacht" in 1938 were their eyes opened, and they saw that they could no longer remain. On November 10, the synagogue and cemetery were desecrated, and the administration of the Jewish community along with the activity of the Jewish societies collapsed. At the same time, the operation to "Aryanize" Jewish businesses and enterprises was in progress and so the remaining Jewish citizens lost their economic basis. The rapid fall in real estate prices was due to the excessive supply of property. Therefore in 1938, emigration accelerated. It was mainly young people who left their hometown as older people found it hard to leave, and the bureaucratic hurdles to attain authorization for emigration were steep. Well over 100 Jews had to suffer complete deprivation of rights and the open stigmatization of being made to take on the additional name "Sara" or "Israel" (1939). They also had to wear a Jewish star (1940) and were equally defenseless when it came to accepting restrictions on their movement and forced labor in Swabian brickworks for men who had become unemployed.

In the autumn of 1941, Jewish emigration was forbidden "for the duration of the war" and systematic annihilation began. On April 1, 1942, the first transport of 84 Jews from Ichenhausen departed for the Piaski collection point and were taken from there to an extermination camp; the second transport took 28 people to Theresienstadt on August 6, 1942. The last 10 Jewish citizens were brought to Auschwitz on March 8, 1943. One single survivor returned from Theresienstadt. She only felt able to live in Ichenhausen for a year befor emigrating to the USA.

In Ichenhausen, the expulsion and destruction of the Jewish community left clear traces. Most visible were the economic consequences for the town, which had already been rent asunder by the liquidation in 1938 of some of the Jewish enterprises. When the houses of citizens who had been deported in 1942 were due to be sold, there were no wealthy interested parties in Ichenhausen: the property market had collapsed. This explains the anger of buyers, who were required after 1945 to pay the difference between the estimated and actual value of the properties they had acquired. The Jewish Restitution Organization took care of reimbursement

of Jewish property or compensation. On the assumption the Jews would never live in Ichenhausen again, they sold the synagogue to the town, which converted the building into a fire station. Less apparent are the non-material consequences of the loss of a large population group that had once contributed substantially to the individuality of the town. Although a few emigrants and descendants of Ichenhausen's Jews have visited the town and the graves of their dead in the cemetery, no Jews have settled in Ichenhausen.

Today the synagogue serves as a memorial, as a commemoration and a future forum for the exchange of ideas and culture debate. As an embodiment of cultural in the late eighteenth century, it is (next to the densely filled Jewish cemetery) the most eloquent testimony today to the Jewish past of Ichenhausen. An action group was set up in 1980 to work towards the restoration of the building as a cultural monument; it has been looked after by a foundation since 1985 as a "Haus der Begegnung" ("Meeting House"). Its adjoining rooms as well as the adjacent rabbi and synagogue servant house are an appropriate setting for the documentary exhibition about the history and culture of the community which once congregated there in prayer. At the same time, it serves as an example showing the history of the Jewish minority in Bavaria.

As the former setting of Jewish life, the adjoining rooms of the synagogue are themselves eloquent historical witnesses. The small rooms of the house stand in sharp contrast to the imposing community assembly room and highlight the villagers' cramped living conditions. In order to preserve the proportions of the rooms and not to conceal the essential historical character of the building, an unimposing documentary presentation was developed which commemorates the life of the Jewish cititzens, primarily with photographs and reproductions. Restraint was also advised for the modest number of available historical objects. Following the expulsion and destruction of the Jews of Ichenhausen, their (moveable) cultural possessions were almost all lost; the souvenirs taken by emigrants could not be used for a permanent installation.

The culture of the Ichenhausen community was a part of the culture of south German rural Jewry and was later held in contempt by enlightened city Jews because of the orthodoxy and alleged backwardness of the villagers. Therefore, rural Jews, their customs and traditions, have received scant attention up until now. The submerged world of this group awaits thorough investigation and recognition as an independent strain of tradition in Jewish life in Bavaria. One can only hope that in the future, a clearer picture of this culture will be delineated, using the remnants of the Ichenhausen genizah found in 1992.

Johannes Erichsen
Curator

1
The Synagogue

1.1
History of the building
1687 - 1938
The present synagogue of Ichenhausen was built on the site of an earlier smaller building, dating from 1687. Parts of it, including the front entrance, were incorporated into the new building.
The present structure was built in 1781 in an early classical style. The size and grandeur of the building befits the importance and independence of Ichenhausen's Jewish community, which was for a time the largest in the Burgau margravate. The adjoining house for the rabbi, also built in 1781, was linked to the synagogue.
After 1805, the Jewish community of Ichenhausen became the second-largest in Bavaria. The synagogue was modified in 1853 and 1896 to meet changing needs. At that time, wooden galleries were added, flanking the side walls; the Torah ark and paintwork were also renovated.

1.1.1
Before 1938, the interior of the synagogue retained the fittings and decoration from the 19th century.
Cantor and synagogue servant in the sanctuary
Postcard, after 1922
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
1.1.2
The front entrance of the first synagogue of 1687 was incorporated into the new building.
The synagogue entrance c.1950
Photograph, Eduard Sturm
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
1.1.3
In 1781, the impressive new synagogue was erected to accommodate the growing community.
View of the synagogue and rabbinic buildings
Postcard, pre-1913
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)

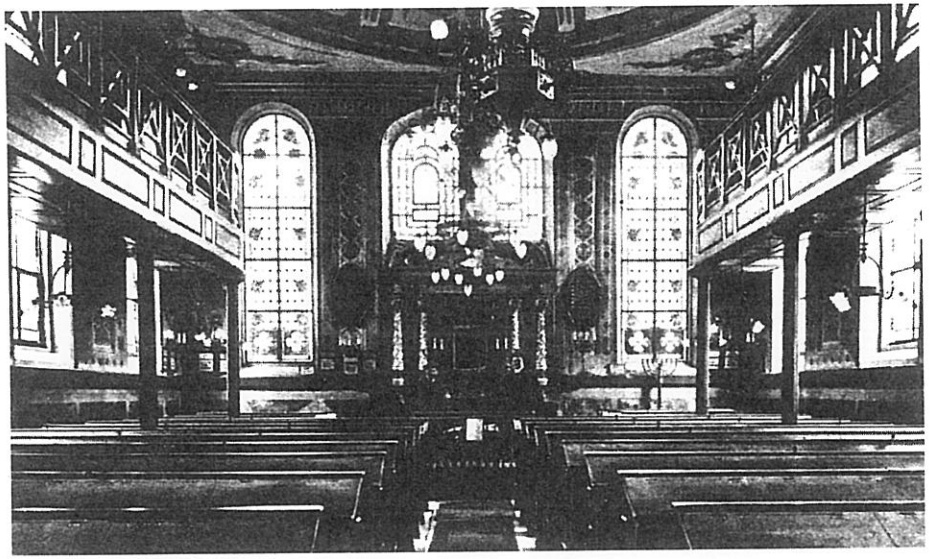
1.2
Devastation - Profanation
Use as a Fire House
1938-1985
On November 10, 1938, the so-called "Kristallnacht", the synagogue's interior was devastated and the synagogue desecrated. The Jewish community was notified that further use of the synagogue building was forbidden.
During and after the war, the synagogue was used as a storehouse. As all the Jews of Ichenhausen had been driven out, the building could no longer be used as a synagogue, and so in 1953, the building was sold to the city by the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO).
In 1958, the city of Ichenhausen converted the synagogue for use as a fire house with the consent of the "Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege" and the Bavarian Jewish communities. At that time, no better use for the building was suggested.

1.2.1
The synagogue was devastated during the so-called "Kristallnacht" of November 10, 1938.
The ceremonial fixtures and fittings were destroyed.
The destroyed Torah ark
Photograph, Edward Sturm, after 1938
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
1.2.2
The Gestapo ("Geheime Staatspolizei"), forbade the restoration of the Ichenhausen synagogue.
Gestapo instructions, November 14, 1938
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333/2)
1.2.3
The former synagogue was converted into a fire house in 1958.
The former synagogue, November 1958
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333/2)
1.2.4
The ceiling of the synagogue survived almost intact above the upper floor of the fire house.

The ceiling of the synagogue sanctuary, (Photo montage)
Condition in 1983
Photograph, Hermann Stoffels, Stadtbergen

1.3
Restoration and Use as a "Haus der Begegnung" ("Meeting House")
1985-1987
In 1979, the District President of Günzburg suggested the restoration of the former synagogue. The fire service was to move out and the building would be devoted to cultural purposes.
In 1980, the "Ichenhausen Synagoge Action Group" was formed and drew up an agenda to consider both the restoration and a new use for the synagogue building. Plans for a "Haus der Begegnung" began in 1982.
In the course of restoration (1985-1987), the original appearance of the sanctuary was almost fully recovered. The room was painted as it would have looked at the end of the nineteenth century, but the women's gallery from that period was not restored.
Today, the body responsible for the building and its organization is the "Foundation for the Former Synagogue of Ichenhausen - Haus der Begegnung".

1.3.1
With the foundation of the "Ichenhausen Synagoge Action Group", plans were formulated for the restoration of the synagogue.
Launch party for the "Action Group", July 28, 1990
From left to right: Moritz Schmid, District President Dr. Georg Simnacher, Prof. Dr. Hans Maier, Senator Julius Spokojny, Bishop Dr. Josef Stimpfle, Dean Klaus Diegritz
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
1.3.2
The early restoration work of 1985 involved the removal of alterations that had been made to the building for its use as a fire station.
Removal of reinforced concrete false ceiling, January 1986
Photograph, Detlef Böttcher, Günzburg
1.3.3
Extreme care was taken with the preparations for the synagogue's renovation and restoration.
Building plan: Front north elevation (1983)
From the Kunz and Stoffels office, Stadtbergen
1.3.4
On December 4, 1987 the former synagogue was opened as a "Haus der Begegnung".
The synagogue sanctuary during the inaugural celebration
Photograph, Detlef Böttcher, Günzburg



1.1.1

1.1.3

2
Jews in Ichenhausen during the Burgau Margravate (1541-1805)

2.1

The first Jews settled in Ichenhausen around the middle of the sixteenth century. They had been driven out of the city states and larger territories. On payment of taxes and duties, they found refuge in Ichenhausen and established one of the largest communities in southern Germany.

Ichenhausen was subject to the jurisdiction of the Burgau margravate, a part of Vorderösterreich. The legal protection of the Jews ("Judenschutz"), had been one of the most important rights of the margravate's officials since the Middle Ages. The "Landesherrschaft" (regional rulers) encouraged Jewish settlement to increase tax revenues. In the eighteenth century, Jews lived in nine places in the margravate. The "Judenschutz" was an important source of revenue for the local Ichenhausen landlords, too. After the local rule passed from the Freiherrn vom Stain (1574) to the Edlen zu Roth and rule was divided into an "upper" and "lower castle", Jewish settlement was particularly encouraged as an important source of revenue: Jews paid taxes to the local rulers.

In the eighteenth century, the Jews secured both their legal and economic status. The 800-strong Jewish community was only slightly smaller than the Christian community. A further indication of the significance of the community was the rebuilding of the synagogue. The Jewish community however, never attained equal status with its Christian neighbours: no Jews were permitted to live within the market gates. Moreover, they were only entitled to 35-40 houses, where families had to live in extremely cramped conditions.

2.1.1

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jews that had been expelled from other regions settled in several villages and market towns in the Burgau margravate.

Jewish areas of settlement in the Burgau margravate based on a map by Franz Joseph Spengler, Augsburg 1790

Original map: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Mapp. XI, 374uh)

2.1.2

In 1499, all Jews were expelled from Ulm, the nearest city state to Ichenhausen.

Edict of King Maximilian I to the city state of Ulm

Document, August 6, 1499

Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (B 207 U 54)

2.2.1
The first known Jews in Ichenhausen were from the period
of the rule of Berchtold von Roth (1541-1560).
Gravestone of the nobleman Berchtold von Roth (d. July 23, 1560)
Ulm workshop (Hans Schaller?), c.1560
Churchyard of the Catholic parish church, Ichenhausen
2.2.2
The document of May 31, 1541 concerning the legal dispute of David of Burgau, is
the oldest evidence of a jewish presence in Ichenhausen.
Judgement from the Rottweil imperial court regarding
"David jud von Burgow zu Ychenhausen"
("David, Jew from Burgau at Ichenhausen")
Document, May 31, 1541
Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich (Oberschönenfeld Uk 444)
(Compare facsimile in show-case)
2.2.3
Regional and local rulers were interested in the settlement
of Jewish traders because they were a source of tax revenue.
The Jews of Ichenhausen were liable for a special tax
in the eighteenth century on the basis of the
"Burgauer Rezess" of November 9, 1717 (see page 16).

2.3.1
The painting of the "reunification" of Ichenhausen in 1784, depicts
the four population groups of the formerly divided market town:
Jews (in front) and Christians (behind) from both sections.
During the 127 year period of division of rule into an "upper-" and "lower castle",
the Barons vom Stain's financial problems led to the settlement
of large numbers of Jews.
On January 5, 1784, the inhabitants of Ichenhausen paid tribute
to Ferdinand Heinrich vom Stain, ruler of a united region from that time on.
Oil painting, c.1784
Unteres Schloss, Ichenhausen

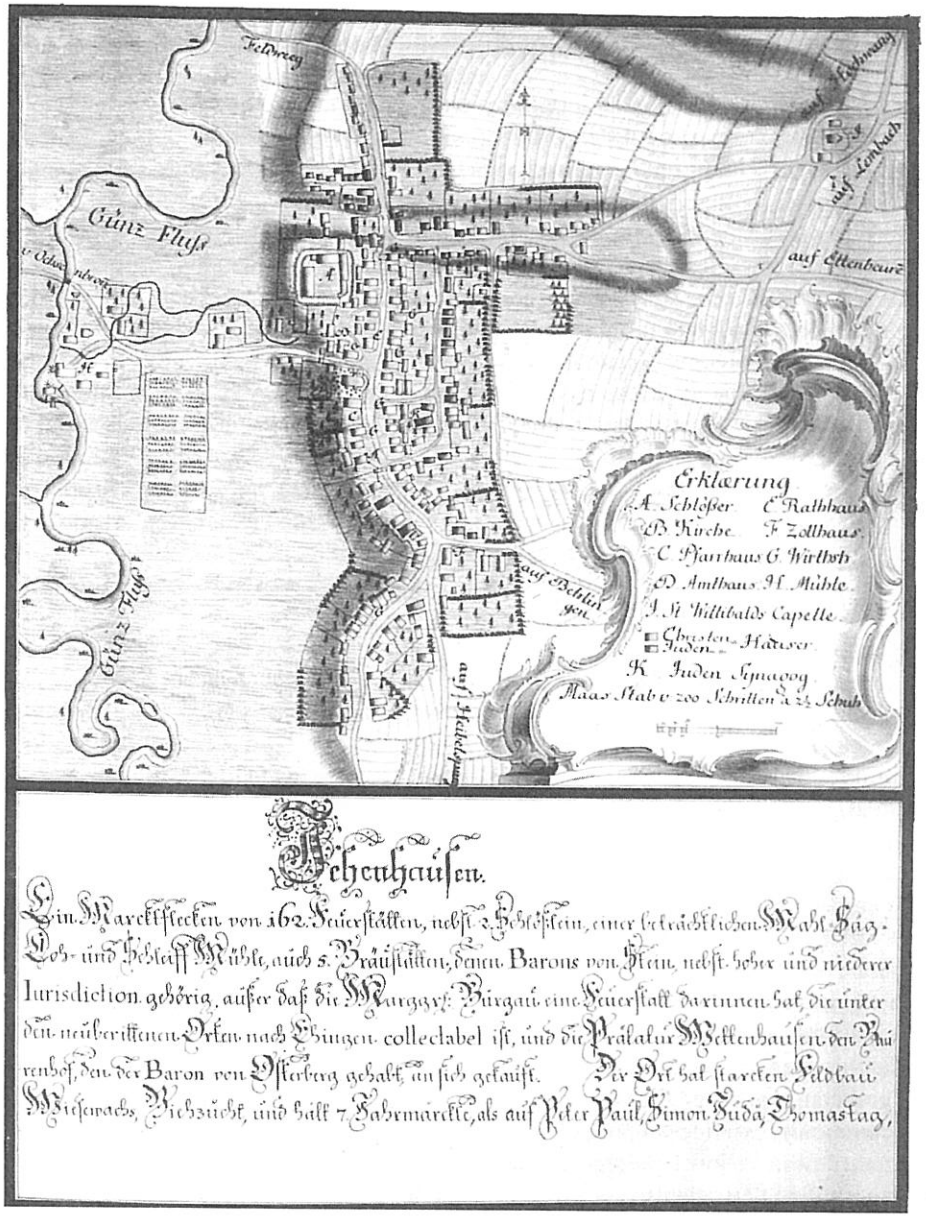
2.4.1
As early as 1543/45, two religious books originated in Ichenhausen; they were
printed by Chaim ben David Schwarz, who came from Prague.
Pentateuch with Megilloth and Haftaroth, from 1543/45
Title page identifying Ichenhausen as the place of printing
(mounted on an eighteenth century engraving), first and last pages of text
Bodleian Library, Oxford (Opp.Fol.47)

2.5.1
Around 1750, the Jewish population of Ichenhausen lived
in extremely cramped conditions in 40 houses.
These houses were scattered over the whole area,
but Jews were banned from living within the "Inner Market".
Local map of Ichenhausen
(Jewish houses marked in black)
From: "A Geographical-Topographical Description of the Margravate of Burgau"
("Geographisch-Topographische Beschreibung der Reichs-Gefürsteten
Markgrafschaft Burgau"), 1749-53"
Kriegsarchiv im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv, Vienna (BIVa, 499/1)
2.5.2
The size and decorations of the "Friedberger House" from 1763
give an indication of the prosperity of many Jews in Ichenhausen.
The Friedberger House, Wiesgasse 1
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
(Theodor Harburger Estate, 468, No.32)

Special taxes on the Jews of Ichenhausen, after 1717

Tax	Explanation	Recipient	Rate in Florins
Consensgeld	One-time fee for establishment of domicile, i.e. establishment of household (until 1848)	Local government	Natives: 10 Women marrying into community: gratis Men marrying into community: 15 Incoming foreigners: by agreement
Citizens' levy*	One time fee for acquisition of right to settlement (until 1848)	Local government official	Natives:1.5 Strangers marrying into the community: 3 Incoming foreigners: by agreement
Levy on shelter or lodgings	Annual tax for sojourn	Local government	Residents: 3 Incoming foreigners:by agreement
Letter of protection	No further letters of protection were issued after 1717; the tax was changed to a one-time levy	Local government official	On acceptance: 1 shirt i.e. 1 florin (before 1717: 4) Incoming foreigners:by agreement
Death duties	Burial tax (until 1839)	Local government	Sliding scale: (up to 6)
Slaughter levy	Tax for slaughtered cattle (until c.1800)	Local government	0.5 per household
Shrovetide levy*	Annual tax on unmarried young men (until c.1810)	Local government	30 (lump sum for locality)
Stol-Aversum (Schmattgeld)	Lump sum tax for occupants of former Christian houses, in lieu of Church tax (until 1881)	Parish priest	around 0.2
Hunters' levy	Quarterly family tax for the "Judenschutz" (until 1813)	Margravate of Burgau	4
Body tariff	Customs duty on crossing state borders (until 1808)	Landesherr	Variable

*Also paid by Christians at a different rate



2.5.1

3
Institutions in a Jewish Community: the example of Ichenhausen

The Jewish religion profoundly influences the day to day life of a Jew. All Jewish communities require particular institutions and functionaries:
synagogue and school, ritual bath and cemetery; rabbi and cantor, teacher and kosher butcher; brotherhoods and societies.
Before emancipation, the Jewish communities formed closed groups where their own religious laws, festivals, rules of cleanliness and food regulations could be observed. There was a strong social network which gave reciprocal help in areas of common concern such as religious services and education. The Jewish community also held jurisdiction over internal disputes.
The economic influence of the Jewish community ensured relative freedom of expression of their religion and customs. By comparison with Jewish communities in large cities, the rural communities remained conservative in their beliefs and life-style. The institutions and practices of the Ichenhausen Jews were typical of rural Jewry in southern Germany.

3.1
Autonomy of Community Societies and Foundations

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jews of Ichenhausen were relatively independent and formed their own institutions.
The secular authorities did not involve themselves in the religious and traditional life of the Jewish community, whose head and representative in civil matters was the "Parnass". At his side, the rabbi played a special role: he knew Jewish law, adjudicated internal Jewish disputes and acted as an expert on questions of ritual.
This independence was lost in 1813, following the "Edict concerning the circumstances of members of the Jewish faith in the kingdom of Bavaria". Thereafter, Jews were considered members of the political community of their domicile and were subject to state regulations just as their Christian neighbours.
The rabbi retained only voluntary jurisdiction. Taxation of the Jewish community was reduced to the level of a religious community which maintained its own school.
Philanthropic activities such as charity and care for the poor and the sick are integral components of Jewish belief. At a time when social welfare was lacking, the community provided support for its neediest members as well as for poor itinerant Jews. Fellow believers also devoted themselves to assisting the dying and their surviving dependents.
By 1933, there were four charitable-religious societies and one purely religious society in Ichenhausen. These societies were up to 200 years old and were organizationally attached to the religious community. Pious foundations established by rich or childless families served charitable aims dedicated to the poor and the sick. These were administered by the Jewish community. In 1938/40, the state abolished the fourteen existing foundations in Ichenhausen.

3.1.1
The lay leader of the Jewish community, the "Parnass", represented the community to the authorities.
The lay leader of the Jewish community of Ichenhausen, 1784
Detail from the painting of the reunification of Ichenhausen, 1784 (2.3.1)
Unteres Schloss, Ichenhausen
3.1.2
Julius Krämer was the last chairman of the religious community of Ichenhausen. He was forced to leave the city in 1939.
Julius Krämer
Detail of a photograph of the municipal board, 1927 (5.5.1)
3.1.3
The society known as the "Chevrah Kaddisha " dealt with illness and death in the community.
"By-laws of the Hebrew religious society"
("Chevrah Kaddisha")
Revision, November 8, 1847
Extract
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 575)

3.2
Synagogue and School

The synagogue is the center of the community's religious and social life, serving as both a house of worship and assembly. It is a place of prayer, learning and meeting.
The scrolls containing the sacred scriptures are kept in the holy Torah ark: a niche on the eastern wall. A raised area in the middle of the sanctuary ("Almemor" or "Bimah ") is used when reading from the scrolls.
At least ten Jewish men must be present for a service to be held.
Services are led by a lay reader.
Learning and study are important components of Judaism, a knowledge of the Hebrew language is assumed. The instruction of young boys probably once took place in the synagogue where the rabbi and Talmud teacher taught both religious and general education. This changed when a state school system was introduced in the nineteenth century. A school was set up in the old rabbinic building for the Jewish children of Ichenhausen.
In 1832, the community obtained its own school building.

3.2.1
The synagogue was the religious and social center of the community. It was a place for religious services, ceremonies, festivals and meetings.
Interior view of the Ichenhausen synagogue
Postcard, c.1910
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)

3.2.2
The Torah ark on the eastern wall of the synagogue held the Torah,
the scroll of the five books of Moses which are the basis of
the Jewish religion.
Torah ark in the Ichenhausen synagogue
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 486, No.25)
3.2.3
Precious adornments embellish the Torah scrolls
and protect them from dust and handling.
Torah shield and finial from the Ichenhausen synagogue
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 486, No.266, No.27)
3.2.4
Rabbis, cantors and Talmud teachers transmitted the Torah,
the basis of the Jewish religion.
They also taught the Talmud, which contains religious laws
and commentaries on them.
Abraham Josua Goldberg
1885-1921 Talmud teacher and "Rabbinatsassessor" in Ichenhausen
Photograph c.1905, Gernot Römer, Neusäss

3.3
Rabbinate - Regional rabbinate ("Bezirksrabbinat")
The rabbi was the authority and custodian of the Talmudic law: he was a teacher, judge and traditionally the foremost authority in the community from which he received a salary. Nineteenth century state regulations required a rabbi to have received a secular education.
In 1792, Ichenhausen and Kriegshaber became "Oberrabbinate" ("Upper rabbinates") for the Burgau margravate. That is, they received the status of supreme high court for the local rabbinates on questions of internal Jewish civil rights and worship. Ichenhausen served the communities of Hürben, Binswangen and Buttenwiesen. The institution of an "Oberrabbinat" (after 1805, "Bezirks-" or "Distrikts-Rabbinat") arose from the need of the political authorities for Jewish representatives who were in a position of authority over the Jewish community. During the Weimar Republic, Ichenhausen became "Bezirksrabbinat" for the kingdom of Bavaria, one of seventeen such bodies in Bavaria. In the course of time, it came to serve the communities in Buttenwiesen, Fischach, Harburg, Kempten, Krumbach, Nördlingen, Oettingen, Wallerstein and sections of Neu-Ulm. After the flight and expulsion of the Jews from Ichenhausen in 1939, the rabbinate was dissolved.

3.3.1
The new rabbinic building contained a residence for the rabbi
and a community center.
The new rabbinic building, 1894
Postcard from 1908
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)
3.3.2
For almost 150 years, the Ichenhausen rabbinate was responsible
for a number of smaller communities in Swabia.
Letter from the "Distrikts-Rabbinat"
Signed by the "Distriktsrabbiner"
Dr. Ahron Cohen, April 21, 1899
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 7581)

3.4
Ritual Cleanliness
A Jewish community requires a specially trained butcher and a "Mikveh": a pool for ritual immersion. Both are necessitated by the regulations regarding ritual cleanliness, a key precept in the Jewish religion. The most important laws of cleanliness concern food and the purity of women.
An observant Jew may only eat "kosher" food. This means that he or she will only eat suitable foods which are prepared according to prescribed regulations. The food laws emphatically forbid the consumption of blood. Permitted ("clean") animals must be slaughtered using a particular technique which allows for blood to be removed. The ritual slaughterer must be specially qualified and requires a license from the rabbi. It was not until 1840 that the town administration first built a slaughter house.
Pregnant and menstruating women are deemed unclean. They are obliged to clean themselves by ritual immersion in "living" water. For this purpose, only underground water, river water and collected rain water are permissible. Cooking vessels are also cleaned in the "Mikveh" before being used for the first time. The "Mikveh" must be built to particular specifications.

3.4.1
For meat to be deemed fit for consumption, it must be slaughtered
by the butcher according to ritual laws.
"The ritual slaughterer tests the knife"
Raphael Frank (from Ichenhausen), 1891
Oil painting
Bertha Frank-Zimmer, Denver
3.4.2
In Ichenhausen there has been a "warme Tauch",
a heated ritual bath, since 1808.

11, Bahnhofstrasse
Site of ritual bath since 1808
Photograph, G. and E. von Voithenberg, 1991

3.5
The annual cycle of Jewish Festivals
The Jewish calendar differs from the Gregorian calendar. The length of the months (29 or 30 days) is determined by the moon, but years are counted according to the sun. The adjustment between the lunar year (354 days) and the solar year (365 days) is made up by leap days and the addition of a thirteenth month nine times in seventeen years.
Rosh ha-Shanah, the New Year, is celebrated at the start of Autumn. It opens the "Ten Days of Penitence" which close with Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. This is a day of stern repentance, complete fasting and abstinence from all work.
Sukkot, the Feast of Tabernacles, lasts eight days and combines a harvest celebration with a commemoration of the Jewish peoples' wanderings in the desert which followed their Exodus from Egypt. To this end, every family erects a "sukkah", a hut decorated with fruit and foliage, which serves as an abode for the duration of the festival.
Shmeni Atzereth, the Eighth Day of Holy Convocation, ends the Feast of Tabernacles. The second day of the festival is called "Simchat Torah", the festival of "Rejoicing in the Law". All male congregants participate by taking the Torah scrolls from the Ark and carrying them around the pulpit seven times, accompanied by singing and dancing.
Chanukkah, the Festival of Light, commemorates the liberation of Jerusalem and the rededication of the Temple in 164 B.C.E. The festival lasts for eight days and each evening an additional light is kindled on a ceremonial lamp.
Purim, the Feast of Lots, is a joyful festival commemorating Queen Esther's bravery which led to the salvation of the Persian Jews from destruction. Presents for relatives, friends and the poor as well as costume parties, infuse the festivities with a lively atmosphere.
Pesach, or Passover, commemorates the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. It lasts eight days and is largely celebrated in the home. At the "Seder" evening, unleavened bread ("Matzah") is consumed along with other symbolic foods. All leavened foods are removed from the house beforehand.
Shavuoth, the Feast of Weeks, ends the seven weeks of the counting of the Omer. The observance refers back to the offering of a harvest sacrifice in biblical times. Later, the commemoration of the revelation at Mount Sinai was combined with this festival.
Tisha b'Av, a day of fasting, is the most solemn day of mourning in the Jewish year; the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem under Titus is remembered with a 24-hour fast.

3.5.1
The Jewish calendar and its festivals
3.5.2
The Sabbath, the day of rest on the seventh day of the week, was celebrated in Ichenhausen according to long-held tradition.
Sabbath lamp from the Friedberger house, c.1765
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 486, No.34)
3.5.3
The celebration of the festival of Passover opens with the Seder night.
"Seder Night"
Raphael Frank (from Ichenhausen), c.1890
Oil painting
Bertha Frank-Zimmer, Denver
3.5.4
At the Seder, various foods were eaten from the Seder plate; each food symbolised and reminded the participants of some aspect of the Exodus from Egypt.
Seder plate from the Friedberger house
Pewter, engraved, 1755
Photograph, Theodor Harburger
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 486, No.36)

3.6
The Jewish Life Cycle - From Birth to Death
Birth and Circumcision
A young boy is welcomed into the Jewish community through the circumcision ceremony ("Brit Milah"). This ceremony takes place eight days after birth when the child is also named. The naming of girls usually takes place in the synagogue on the first Sabbath after birth.
Bar Mitzvah
At the age of thirteen, a boy comes of age in the Jewish community. As a "son of the commandments", he must then take on the responsibility of observing all the laws of the Torah. On the occasion of his "Bar Mitzvah", he is called up to read from the Torah on the Sabbath after his thirteenth birthday. Girls come of age at twelve.
Marriage
The marriage ceremony is one of the most important celebrations in the life of a Jew. The marriage ceremony is usually performed by the rabbi and takes place under the bridal canopy ("Chuppah"), which is carried on four poles.

Death and Burial
The "Chevrah Kaddisha" ("Holy brother/sisterhood") is responsible for all arrangements after a death: ritual cleansing, clothing the body in a shroud and burial.
Seven days of intense mourning ("Shivah") are followed by a month of mourning ("Sheloshim") and a year of mourning. Members of the immediate family show that they are in mourning by tearing their outer garments ("Keri'ah").
Cemetery
The Jewish cemetery is called the "House of Eternity" ("Bet Olam") or the "House of Life" ("Bet ha-Chaim"). Graves may not be disturbed nor the gravestones removed.
Commemoration of the Dead
The memory of the dead is honoured in many ways. In remembrance of the deceased, the so-called "Jahrzeit" is observed annually on the anniversary of the death.

3.6.1
Stages of Jewish Life
Color lithograph
South German, c.1906
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
3.6.2
The Jewish cemetery and its gravestones are the most impressive testimony to the Ichenhausen Jewish community.
View of the most recent section of the cemetery dating from 1890-1946
Photograph, G. and E. von Voitenberg, 1991
3.6.3
Deceased members of the community are remembered in memorial books.
Ichenhausen memorial book from 1833/34
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 486, No.28)
3.7.1
Several personal prayer accountrements were saved by Julie Wachenheimer during the destruction of the Ichenhausen synagogue in the November pogrom, 1938.
Prayer shawl (with bag), prayer straps (with bix), 3 skullcaps
Woll, leather, velvet, linen
South German, early 20th century
Fondation Ehemalige Synagogue Ichenhausen

3.7.2
After 1938, liturgical books were occasionally turned in to the Catholic rectory.
Festival prayer book
Prayers for the Day of Atonement
Arranged and translated by W. Heidenheim
Rödelheim, 1870
From the collection of Hedwig Erlanger
Katholisches Pfarrarchiv, Ichenhausen
3.7.3
On the anniversary of a death, relatives remember the deceased and kindle a "Jahrzeit light."
"Jahrzeit ligth days" for Helene Gerstle
Verlag Elkan Koschland, Ichenhausen
Lithograph, framed
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
3.7.4
Liturgical texts which were no longer useable were not destroyed but put in a concealed place ("Genizah" where they could deteriorate naturally).
Book fragments from the Ichenhausen Genizah
Foundation Ehemalige Synagogue Ichenhausen

3.2.3

3.5.4

4

First signs of equality in the kingdom of Bavaria (1806-1871)

With the annexation of the margravate of Burgau to Bavaria in 1805, the status of Jewish rights had to be settled. In the former Electorate of Bavaria Jews had not been tolerated, whereas in 1806, around 40 000 Jews lived in the new kingdom of Bavaria, 6000 of them in Bavarian Swabia.
On June 10, 1813, the "Edict concerning the conditions of Jewish believers in the kingdom of Bavaria" was issued and binding regulations were created for all of Bavaria. The regulations brought civil rights and freedom of trade but restricted freedom of movement and immigration. All Jews had to be matriculated in a register (Matrikel) in which the number of families per domicile was set. The Jewish community lost autonomy in questions of internal Jewish and educational import, and religious autonomy was limited.
Annexation to Bavaria brought no appreciable improvements for the Jews of Ichenhausen. Taxes due to noble landlords remained in effect until 1848. However, the restriction on the number of "Jewish houses" allowed was not enforced. Around 1830, there were 217 Jewish households containing 1300 people, this was nearly half the number of inhabitants in the whole village.
Due to the "Matrikelparagraph" issued in 1813, many young Jews were forced to leave Bavaria as they were not permitted to settle there. Many emigrated to the United States. After the repeal of the "Matrikelparagraph" in 1861, many people moved from the countryside to the cities. Around 1871, only about 750 Jews still lived in Ichenhausen.

4.1
State Regularization

4.1.1
In the wake of the "Edict concerning the Jews", 200 registration numbers were allocated to Ichenhausen authorizing 200 Jewish households in total.
"Matriculation register of the Jewish community of Ichenhausen"
(1813-1861)
First entries
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 596)
4.1.2
With the issue of the "Edict concerning the Jews",
restrictions on real estate were lifted.
In 1819, 183 out of 389 properties were owned by Jewish families.
The particulars of two Jewish "properties"

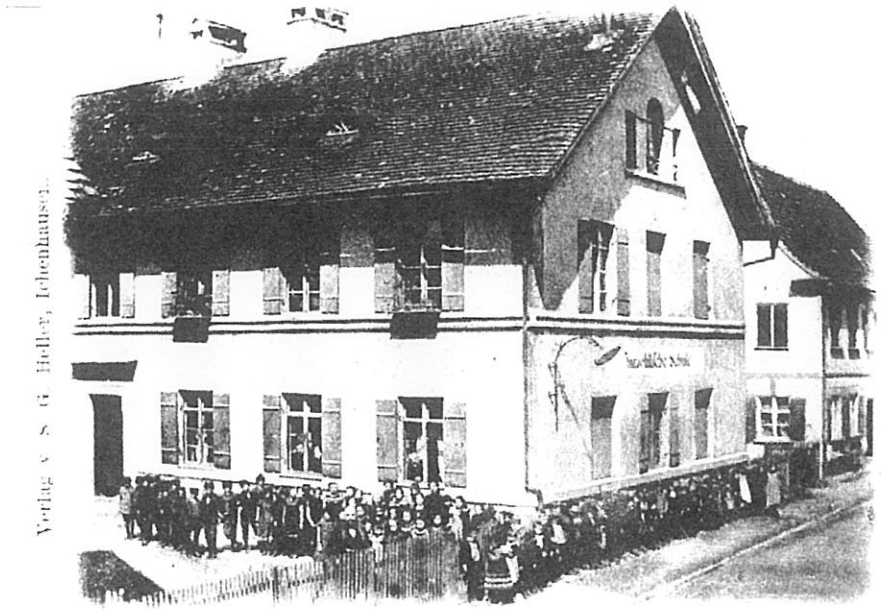
in the 1843 land register
(Each is one of six apartments at 217, Annagasse)
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (Hagmayer, Grund- oder Lager-Buch II, 1843)
4.1.3
The state attempted to reorganize Jewish trade for political reasons.
The peddling trade was limited and strictly regulated.
"Overview of [Ichenhausen] peddlers, of regions and their merchandise"
From: "Intelligenz-Blatt für den Ober-Donau-Kreis", June 13, 1836

4.2
School System and Religious Life

4.2.1
In 1833, Ichenhausen was awarded its own, state-supervised, Jewish elementary school. It existed until 1942.
The "Israelite School" on Herzog-Leopold-Strasse
Postcard, pre-1906
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)
4.2.2
Jewish teachers in Ichenhausen influenced life in their own community and in time came to leave their mark on the co-existence of Jews and Christians.
Husband and wife, Koppel and Rebekka Ullmann
Photograph, c.1885
Heimatmuseum, Schnaittach
4.2.3
The state attempted to dictate the religious life of the Jewish community down to the smallest detail.
Synagogue rules for the Hebrew community of the Oberdonaukreis, 1836
Title page and first page
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (Regierung 11848)
4.2.4
After thirteen years of office in Ichenhausen, (1861-1873),
Rabbi Dr. Lazarus Löb became "Oberrabbiner" of Altona.
Rabbi Löb in his robes of office as "Oberrabbiner" of Altona
Photograph, c. 1880
Altonaer Museum, Hamburg (1989/26)

4.3
Consequences of the March Revolution (1848)
Emigration

4.3.1
At the first political demonstration in Ichenhausen, Jews in particular support the broadening of democracy.
"Large public gathering" in Ichenhausen, May 29, 1849
Notice in the "Günzburger Wochenblatt", May 22, 1849
4.3.2
After the failure of democratization, political as well as economic factors came to play a part in Jewish emigration.
"Rabbinatsassistent" Heinrich Hochheimer, in Baltimore, having emigrated in 1849 for political reasons
Photograph, c.1880
American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati
4.3.3
In the United States, many Jews from Ichenhausen became successful in business.
Carl Laemmle, co-founder of Hollywood, pictured with "Buffalo Bill" at the opening of the film city, "Universal City", 1915
From: C. Hirschhorn, "The Universal Story", 1983



4.2.1 Israelitische Schule.

5
Equal Rights and Integration (1871-1933)

In 1871, Bavaria became a part of the "Deutsches Reich". The Reich's law of April 22, 1871, brought complete equality of rights to the Jews in Bavaria. The prospect of better work opportunities in the cities caused a rise in migration from the rural communities. In 1870, 750 Jews lived in Ichenhausen, but in 1933, only 350 remained (14 percent of the population). Even so, the Jewish community in Ichenhausen was still the largest rural Jewish community in Bavaria.
Ichenhausen remained attractive as a regional center of commerce. The significant textile industry and the reputation of the Jewish wholesale and retail businesses offered good living prospects.
The economic power of the Jewish inhabitants was one of the fundamental reasons for Ichenhausen's elevation to city status in 1913. The Jewish production enterprises secured an income for Christian manual workers in the immediate area and in the surrounding countryside. Around 1900, the local labor movement developed from amongst the home workers of the textile industry.
During the "Kaiserreich", pride in the fatherland and nation substantially contributed to the integration of the remaining Jews in Ichenhausen. Flourishing societies promoted understanding between the denominational groups.
After World War I and the fall of the "Kaiserreich", confrontations began to take place between the often anti-semitic German nationalists and the supporters of the Weimar constitution whose ranks included the Jews and workers from Ichenhausen.
In 1923, National Socialism became noticeable in the region for the first time.

5.1
The Textile Industry

5.1.1
For about seventy years, Ichenhausen's economy centered on the ready-to-wear clothing industry.
The Sulzer menswear factory (front right)
in the Marktstrasse
Postcard, pre-1912?
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)
5.1.2
The founder of the Sulzer garment factory was a member of the town council and was made a freeman of the city in 1911.
Michael Sulzer (1831-1916) with colleagues from the community at a reception for the Catholic parish priest, Father Sinz
Photograph,1906
Katholisches Pfarrarchiv, Ichenhausen (Fach 23/12)

5.1.3
The Jewish textile industrialists in Ichenhausen employed a number of Catholic tailors who worked chiefly at home.
Samuel Rosskamm's "Menswear and junior menswear factory", Christian homeworkers in foreground
Photograph, 1911
Erich and Erna Marx, New York
5.1.4
In 1900, homeworkers from the garment industry organized themselves to fight for better working conditions.
SPD ("Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands", i.e."German Social Democratic Party") flyer
Distributed in Ichenhausen, January 1909
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 4409)
5.1.5
The labor movement which had emerged from amongst the homeworkers gave rise to the Ichenhausen SPD Party.
Later, it had numerous Jewish members.
Members of the Ichenhausen SPD
Photograph, May 1, 1913
Gerd Olbrich, Ichenhausen

5.2
Patriotism

5.2.1
The "Great War" against France in 1870/1 helped to shape the pro-fatherland attitudes of even Jewish combatants.
"Yom Kippur 1870, outside Metz"
Lithograph after W. Loeillot
Verlag Julius Levy, Berlin c. 1870
Possession of a Jewish soldier from Ichenhausen
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
5.2.2
In Ichenhausen during the "Kaiserreich", Jewish children bore the nationalistic convictions of their parents and witness to German aspiration to maritime power by showing off in sailor suits:
"Seafaring we need" (Seefahrt tut not").
Hermann Reichenberger, son of the owner of the Sulzer firm, in a sailor's suit
Photograph, Spalke & Kluge, Augsburg c.1903
Werner Reichenberger, Kempfenhausen
5.2.3
Jews from Ichenhausen went into combat in 1914, filled with patriotic pride.

Brothers Leo, Arnold and Gustav Gerstle (from left to right), soldiers in World War I
Photograph, c.1914
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
5.2.4
Thirteen Jewish soldiers from Ichenhausen fell in World War I.
Death notice for Lieutenant der Reserve, Emil Heilbronner (1891-1918)
From :"Der Volksfreund", August 3, 1918
5.2.5
Both Jewish and Christian businesses suffered equally in the aftermath of the war.
Notice from the Friedberger textile company
From: "Der Volksfreund", November 3, 1915

5.3
Societies and Social Life

5.3.1
Patriotic functions and convivial celebrations furthered community relations between Christians and Jews.
"Germania and Neptune"
Maria Schilling (Catholic) and Hermann Thalmann (Jewish) at a carnival celebration in Ichenhausen
Photograph, Atelier Rauchmiller, Günzburg, 1904
Käthe Schwarz, Ichenhausen
5.3.2
Teacher Julius Thalmann was the most active of the Jews represented in the societies.
Eulogy for Julius Thalmann
Copy, 1909
Franz Emminger, Burgau
5.3.3
Mathilde Thalmann equalled her husband's involvement in community activities: amongst other things, she was co-founder and secretary of the "Women's Red Cross Society".
Mathilde Thalmann (1861-1927)
Photograph, Atelier Rauchmiller
Günzburg, c.1920
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
5.3.4
Jews and Christians worked together in the Ichenhausen fire service.

Drill on the Schlossplatz marking the fiftieth anniversary
of the Ichenhausen volunteer fire service, July 6-8, 1912
Postcard, 1912
Hubert Dempf, Ichenhausen
5.3.5
The first team of Ichenhausen FC (soccer club) in the summer of 1920
was made up of nine Christians and three Jews.
The first team of Ichenhausen FC
Photograph, Summer 1920
Werner Reichenberger, Kempfenhausen
5.3.6
The liberal-democratic "Commercial Society of Ichenhausen"
was mostly supported by Jewish business people.
Invitation from the "Commercial Society" (1908-1935) to a sex education lecture
From: "Der Volksfreund", November 30, 1910
5.3.7
The Jewish choral society "Zion" appeared together
with the Christian choral society "Liederkranz" on many occasions.
The "Zion" choral society (1865-1935) at a carnival procession
of the regional music festival held in Ichenhausen, 1930
Photograph, 1930
Hans and Rosi Schendel, Hod Hasharon
5.3.8
"Zion" choral society membership pin
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen

5.4
High point of Integration

5.4.1
The economic power of Jewish citizens was one of the fundamental reasons
for Ichenhausen's elevation to city status in 1913.
The Jewish societies were equal participants in the celebrations.
Invitation to the Ichenhausen city celebrations on June 28/29, 1913,
Title page and program of events
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 9558)
5.4.2
In 1913, the opening of a new kindergarten coincided with the celebration of
Ichenhausen's elevation to city status.
The school was for Jewish and Christian children and was run by nuns.
Kindergarten, first grade
Photograph, 1913/14
Käthe Schwarz, Ichenhausen

5.4.3
Dr. Ahron Cohn was the rabbi for 48 years and encouraged the integration
of Jews into civic life in Ichenhausen.
Dr. Ahron Cohn
(b. Altona 1840, d. Ichenhausen 1922)
Photograph, c.1908
From: J.Miedel, "Juden in Memmingen", 1909
5.4.4
Catholic parish priest Heinrich Sinz was highly respected
in the Jewish community.
He was the first to write a history of Ichenhausen's Jews.
Heinrich Sinz
(b. Hürben 1871, d. Ichenhausen 1951)
Photograph, c.1920
Katholisches Pfarrarchiv, Ichenhausen (Fach 23/12)

5.5
Beginnings of anti-semitism in the Weimar Republic

5.5.1
Until 1933, the Jews were represented in Ichenhausen's civic bodies
in proportion to their number in the total population.
The Ichenhausen city council in 1927, with Jewish counsellors Saly Dollmann,
Moritz Frank, Julius Krämer (all SPD, German Social Democratic Party) and Ahron
Heller (DDP, German Democratic Party)
Photograph, 1927
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen
5.5.2
An anti-semitic leaflet by the National Socialists
first surfaced in Ichenhausen in September, 1923.
Hectographed leaflet posted in Ichenhausen on the night of September 13/14, 1923
[Copy, names abbreviated]
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333)
5.5.3
The city council unanimously endorsed the Jewish community's protest
against the anti-semitic leaflet.
Protest against anti-semitic defamatory statements, September, 1923
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333)
5.5.4
In the Weimar Republic elections, the democratic parties were strongly supported
by Ichenhausen Jews and the workers.

Results of the Reichspresidential elections, April 26, 1925:
In Ichenhausen, Wilhelm Marx, the candidate for the Weimar coalition, gained the majority.
From: "Der Volksfreund", April 28, 1925

5.6
Jewish businesses and industry made Ichenhausen a regional economic centre
Advertisements for Jewish businesses,
mainly from the local newspaper, "Der Volksfreund"
5.7
Jewish Residences in Ichenhausen
5.7.1
Ichenhausen, February 9, 1917
Aerial photograph by the Bavarian Army
Kriegsarchiv im Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich
(BS II/5,234)
5.7.2
Around 1930, 89 residences and businesses in Ichenhausen were owned by Jews.
Houses in Ichenhausen inhabited by Jews in 1930
(Sources: Address book for city and region of Günzburg, 1930, and local map from 1933)
Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Munich

5.2.3

5.2.2

List of owners i.e. householders
according to the address book of the District Office of Günzburg, 1930

1 Heinrich Neuburger
2 Frieda Krämer
3 Josef Schendel
4 Siegfried Weimersheimer
5 Gustav Gerstle
6 Mina Kern
7 Mina Einstein
8 Sofie Gutmann
9 Moses Thalmann
10 Sigmund Stettauer
11 Moritz Falk
12 The Falk brothers
13 Friedl Buff
14 Karl Neuburger
15 Selma Weil
16 Siegfried Erlanger
17 Heinrich Wolf
18 Rosa Bernheimer
19 Bernheimer warehouse
20 Karl Wolf
21 Rafael Öttinger
22 The Israelite School
23 Berta Mann
24 Jakob Fischer
25 Paul Weimersheimer
26 Moritz Weimersheimer
27 Isidor Aufhäuser
28 The Weimersheimer siblings
29 Isidor Gerstle
30 Ida and Nathan Mann
31 Sigmund Harburger
32 Moritz Frank
33 Moritz Frank
34 Isidor Aufhäuser
35 Erlanger (Barn)
36 Sofie Winschbacher
37 Jewish community
38 Sara Erlanger
39 Henriette Neuburger
40 Lina Hirsch
41 The Abraham siblings
42 Henriette Friedberger
43 Levi Erlanger
44 S.G. Heller
45 David Weglein
46 Alfred Löwenstein, M.D.
47 The Sulzer brothers
48 Ida and Amalie Frank
49 Max Thalmann
50 David Neuburger
52 Ludwig Frankenheimer
53 Fischer, heirs of
54 Heilbronner
55 Sigmund Osswald
56 Ludwig Frankenheimer
57 Rosskamm
58 Ricka Frank
59 Isaak Koschland
60 Naphtali Reichenburger
61 Babette Regensburger, heirs of
62 Gustav Wolf
63 Hirsch Gradmann
64 Rabbinical building
65 Jewish community
66 Synagogue and neighboring buildings
67 Jewish community
68 Jewish community
69 Julius Gutmann
70 Hermann Harburger
71 Jenny Kleinnördlinger
72 Nathan Gerstle
73 Leo Erlanger
74 Sophie Gerstle
75 Jakob Gerstle
76 Rosa Gerstle
77 Julius Neuburger
78 Leopold Bissinger, heirs of
79 Jette Gradmann
80 Louis Levi
81 Rosa Goldberg
82 Benno Fellheimer
83 Isidor Stern
84 The Bernbach siblings
85 Josef Heller
86 Emil Heller
87 Babette Regensburger, inheritor
88 The Heidelberger sisters
89 David Heidelberger

6
Deprivation of Rights, Expulsion and Murder (1933-1943)

In Ichenhausen as throughout Germany, the National Socialists persecuted the Jews and deprived them of their rights. Jews were barred from the city council and societies and driven out of public life. Business contact between Jews and Christians was impeded and partly forbidden after the "Nuremberg Laws " of 1935. The Jewish community reacted to the external pressures by immersing themselves more deeply in religious life, all aspects of which were now under surveillance by the National Socialist authorities.
On November 10, 1938, the illusion of peaceful coexistence between Jews and Christians finally shattered on the so-called "Kristallnacht". National Socialists ransacked the synagogue, beat and humiliated Jews and transported them to the Dachau concentration camp.
By January 1, 1939, all Jewish businesses had to be dissolved or sold to an "Aryan". Due to the pressure of circumstances, a large part of the Jewish community fled from Ichenhausen. Of the 437 who were registered in the preceding ten years, only 172 succeeded in emigrating to the United States, England or Palestine. Others moved to large anonymous cities where they supposed to be safer. At least 38 of them were deported.
The last resident Jews in Ichenhausen were transported to concentration camps in 1942 and 1943, in three groups. Only one woman survived from the 125 who were deported. After March 8, 1943, there were no more Jews in Ichenhausen.

6.1
Deprivation of Rights

6.1.1
In the first years of the Third Reich, calls to boycott Jewish businesses in Ichenhausen received little attention.
Businessmen's float on "Trade Day" in Ichenhausen with a banner reading, "Buy German products"
Photograph, October 16, 1933
Hubert Dempf, Ichenhausen
6.1.2
Under Nazi laws of conformity (March/April 1933), all Jews had to leave societies where "Aryans" were also members.

Moritz Falk explains his resignation from the Ichenhausen voluntary fire service after more than fifty years of membership
Communication from October 1, 1935
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen

6.1.3
Due to the "Nuremberg laws" (September 1935), at least 30 Jewish households in Ichenhausen were forced to discharge their Christian domestic servants.
Anti-semitic caricature from "Der Stürmer", the weekly National Socialist newspaper
No. 32, August 1934
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333)
6.1.4
Over Christmas, 1936, the Berlin SS paper, "Das Schwarze Korps", stirred up hatred towards Ichenhausen, "Where the Jews feel so comfortable".
Article on Ichenhausen from: "Das Schwarze Korps. Zeitung der Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP", December 24, 1936
Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich

6.2
Immersion in Religious Life

6.2.1
Simon Schwab, rabbi in Ichenhausen from 1933 to 1936, was neo-Orthodox.
Simon Schwab (b. Frankfurt, 1908)
As "Rabbinatsassessor" in Darmstadt
Photograph, 1931
Moses L. Schwab, New York
6.2.2
Gerhard Frank, the last rabbi in Ichenhausen (1937-1939), strengthened the orthodox orientation of the Jewish community.
Gerhard Frank (b. Buttenwiesen 1912, d. Auschwitz 1944), during his period of office as "Bezirks-Rabbiner" in Ichenhausen
Photograph, 1931
Bertha Frank-Zimmer, Denver
6.2.3
In spite of hindrance and surveillance, the Jewish community and the Jewish youth group tried to continue with their internal activities until 1938.

Rejection of an application by the Ichenhausen Jewish youth group
to hold a "Home and Parents Evening" in the Café Weil on December 1, 1934
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333)

6.3
"Kristallnacht"

6.3.1
On "Kristallnacht" in Ichenhausen, the synagogue and cemetery were devastated,
Jews were set upon.
At least 28 men were taken off to Dachau concentration camp.
The devastated Jewish cemetery
Photograph, Eduard Sturm, after 1938
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
6.3.2
Statements regarding "Kristallnacht" in Ichenhausen on November 10, 1938, given
by eye witnesses and perpetrators:
"It was pretty hard for the Jews living here."
(Local group leader of the NSDAP, January 14, 1938)
"The question of Jews and the plague of Jews is a reality
for the small town of Ichenhausen.
Their parasitical existence has gone just too far this past year."
(District leader of the NSDAP, November 19, 1938)
"The library that had belonged to Goldberg, the former teacher,
was taken from his widow's flat, packed into a car
and then thrown into the river Günz."
(Eye witness, 1938)
Statements from a trial before the Memmingen district court (1947/48):
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (Kls 61/47)
"As I was a business man and knew all the Ichenhausen Jews,
the whole affair was repugnant to me."
(Local group leader of the NSPAD, November 10, 1947)
"None of the participants were wearing uniforms."
(Defendant, January 8, 1948)
"There was no point in burning the synagogue
as a fire would have endangered the neighboring barn."
(Defendant, September 23, 1947)
"I saw how children chased old Weimersheimer along Günzburger Street
towards the town hall. Some of them spat at him."
(Witness, October 17, 1947)

"F. was boasting that he had really worked the Jews over."
(Witness, April 25, 1946)
"One man punched Philipp Meinfelder, the synagogue servant, in the face."
(Witness, September 23, 1947)
"Jews have been beaten - I am still quite sure today that I did not see that".
(Suspect as witness, September 18, 1947)

6.3.3
A document from "Kristallnacht": Minute-book of the tax federation of the Jewish
community, ending with the last meeting planned for November 10, 1938.
Minute-book of the Jewish community for the years 1933-1938
44 x 41
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
6.4
Liquidation and "Aryanization"

6.4.1
Until 1938, Jewish businesses and factories could sometimes only manage
to survive by making increasing cutbacks.
Announcements made by Jewish businesses
From: "Der Volksfreund", 1933 and 1936
6.4.2
The "Sulzer Garment Factory", the largest company in the area,
was transferred to "Aryan possession" in October 1938.
Circular from the new owners of the "United Garment Factories
Altenstadt - Ichenhausen", mid-November, 1938
Chamber of Industry and Commerce Archive, Augsburg
(Correspondence entries in company register, 1939)
6.4.3
Only a very small number of Jewish businesses found "Aryan" interested parties.
Continuing ownership was unwanted at governmental level.
The last twenty Jewish business owners acknowledge the state list of restrictions
imposed after "Kristallnacht" with their signatures, December 5, 1938
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333/1)
6.4.4
After losing their jobs, Jewish men were obliged
to do forced labor as of May, 1939.
Levi Erlanger (b. Ichenhausen 1882, d. Auschwitz 1943),
butcher and cattle trader, working as a forced laborer
at a brickworks in Schwabmünchen.
Photograph from 1939/40
Arnold Erlanger, North Caulfield (Australia)

6.4.5
Neediness amongst the last Jews in Ichenhausen:
F., a former cattle trader, tried to get hold of some food
but was discovered and denounced in the local press.
"Jewish hoarder branded"
"Schwäbisches Volksblatt"(Günzburg), August 6, 1941
6.4.6
The houses of Jews who had been deported were assessed
by an official committee and later sold.
House prices for 17 homes whose Jewish owners
were mostly deported on April 1, 1942
List of July 23, 1942
[Street names and house numbers blacked out]
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333)

6.5
Destruction

6.5.1
The only remnants of the synagogue's religious furnishings
are the columns for the Torah ark.
Columns for the Torah ark from 1896
Wood, carved and chased
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen
6.5.2
The synagogue's destroyed Torah ark with the inscription,
"Know before whom you stand"
Photograph, Eduard Sturm, after 1938
Foundation Ehemalige Synagoge Ichenhausen

6.5.3
The Torah ark prior to its destruction
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate, 486, No.25)

6.6
Emigration

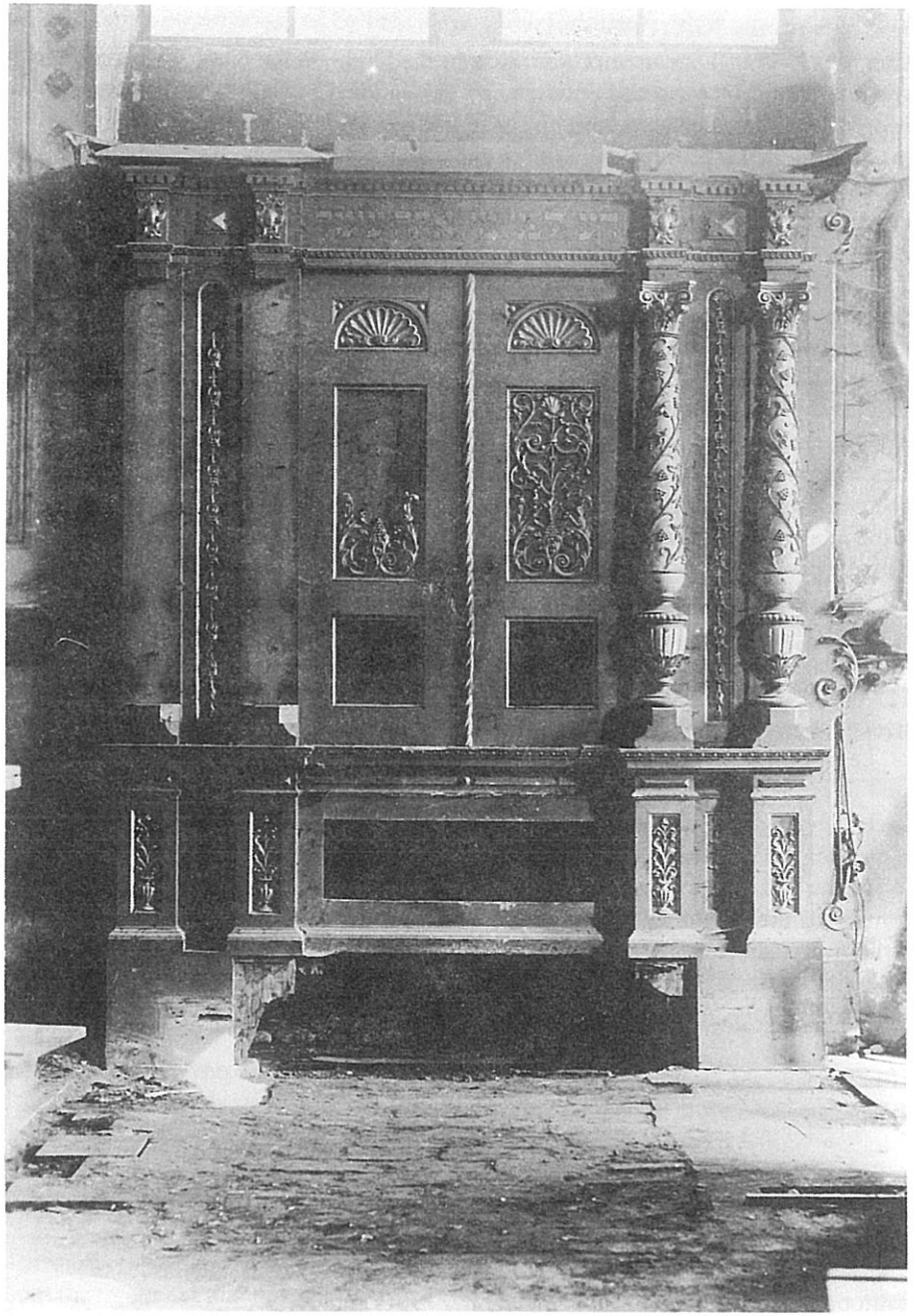
6.6.1
The Jewish community organized various informative events
about the possibilities of emigration.
Application from the "Zionist Association of Bavaria"
for the authorization of a lecture about emigration to Palestine
to be held in Ichenhausen.
September 22, 1937
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (134)
6.6.2
Jewish organizations sponsored training programs in agricultural
and skilled trades for immigrants to Palestine.
Arnold Erlanger (b. Ichenhausen, 1916) in training with a blacksmith in Holland
Photograph, 1941
Arnold Erlanger, North Caulfield (Australia)
6.6.3
Emigration was often granted only after several attempts.
Justin Henle's (b. Ichenhausen 1913) passport application form
for emigration to Chile, 1939
(Emigrated to Philadelphia in 1941)
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg, 5133)
6.6.4
If all attempts at emigration failed, deportation threatened.
Sophie Gerstle's (née Schwarz, b. Osterberg 1871, lived in Ichenhausen
from 1891) passport application form for emigration to Santo Domingo, 1940
(Deported 1942)
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg, 5133)

6.7
Deportation

6.7.1
Numerous Jews from Ichenhausen settled in large cities during the Nazi period.
Some of them succeeded in emigrating; many were deported.
27 identity cards from Jews born in Ichenhausen and deported
from Munich and Berlin
Stadtarchiv Munich (VKK)
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (Personenstandsbögen)

6.7.2
125 people were taken in three transports from Ichenhausen
to concentration camps: April 1, 1942, August 6, 1942, March 8, 1943.
One woman survived.
Table of Jews deported from Ichenhausen in 1942 and 1943
List, c.1951
Extract listing 122 people
Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (3/333)
6.7.3
The deportations were played down and described as "resettlement".
Communication from the Augsburg Gestapo concerning the return of identity cards
belonging to deported Jews (Transport of April 1, 1942)
Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg, 5233)

6.8.1
The door of the Friedberger house, dating from 1763, ranks amongst
the most impressive evidence of Jewish culture in Ichenhausen.
Right-hand door, right door post and lintel of the front door
of the Friedberger house
Doorpost with recess for mezzuzah; lintel with Hebrew inscription:
"Blessed be your arrivals and blessed be your departures, in the year 1763"
Dr. Helmut Strehle, Ichenhausen
6.8.2
The house in 1941 and 1975
KreisA Günzburg (Baugesuche Ichenhausen, 1941)
Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich (R.1975, No.1375)
6.8.3
The front door in 1927 and 1991
1927: Original condition; inscription in cartouche: "Black on white, in
commemoration of the Destruction [of the Temple], in 523"
(according to the Christian calendar i. e.1762/63 C.E.)
Photograph, Theodor Harburger, 1927
Central Archives, Jerusalem
(Theodor Harburger Estate 468, No.33)
1991: One of the doors is still in use
Photograph, G. and E. von Voithenberg



7

Dealing with the Past (1945-1991)

After World War II, an attempt was made to shed light on the fate of the people who had been driven out and murdered by the National Socialists. Commissions recorded the names of Jews who had once lived in Ichenhausen, their businesses and houses; they registered the number and names of those who had been deported. Those who had emigrated enquired after relatives and property.

Almost everything that the Jews were forced to leave behind had been drastically undersold. The "Jewish Restitution Successor Organization" (JRSO), which had been set up by the Allies, took over the implementation of return of property or compensation. The new owners felt the additional payments as a heavy burden.

As time passed, former Jewish citizens, relatives and relations occasionally visited Ichenhausen: they wanted to see the place again and commemorate their dead in the cemetery. None of them stayed permanently.

In 1980, nearly forty years after the Jews were driven out of Ichenhausen, the "Ichenhausen Synagogue Action Group" was established with the goal of restoring the synagogue building. Since 1987, the "Haus der Begegnung" keeps the memory of the Ichenhausen Jewish community alive and contributes to understanding between people, nations and religious denominations.

7.1

Investigations - Reimbursement

7.1.1

Soon after the war ended, "Investigations into the Jewish tragedy during the Nazi regime" were begun.

Enquiry by the "Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the American Zones" and reply from the the Günzburg county government, April, 1946

Staatsarchiv Augsburg (BA Günzburg 4167)

7.1.2

After the war, the restitution of Jewish property became a central topic in Ichenhausen.

Telegram (copy) from the Bavarian "State Commissioner for the care of victims of fascism", from October 16, 1947

Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (333/2)

7.1.3

The "Jewish Restitution Successor Organization" (JRSO) dealt with issues of restitution i.e. compensation for "aryanized" Jewish property.

Communication from the JRSO to the Ichenhausen municipality regarding the Rosskamm house acquired by the city in 1938, October 5, 1949

Stadtarchiv Ichenhausen (063)

7.1.4

The Rosskamm house before restoration

Photograph, 1980

Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich (KB 1983,402)

7.2

Rapprochement

7.2.1

In September 1945, G.I. Moritz Ludwig Heidelberger looked for traces of his parents and brother.

American jeep and group of people in front of the Heidelberger family home, 8, Ludwigstrasse

Karen Franklin, New York

7.2.2

The smile is deceptive: Ludwig Seligmann who returned from Israel to Munich in 1957, visiting his home town.

Ludwig Seligmann (1907-1975)

Photograph c.1970

Dr. Rafael Seligmann, Munich

"Now I am here
I will not be happy.
This is my native soil.
The wounds that I had long forgotten..."
(Ludwig Seligmann, c.1970)

7.2.3

Forty years after Auschwitz: Arnold Erlanger in the synagogue of his birth place.

Arnold Erlanger (b.1916) visiting the synagogue in Ichenhausen before restoration 1986

Photograph, Detlef Böttcher, Günzburg

7.2.4

Theo Fellheimer, who emigrated in 1934, was a guest at the inaugural celebration of the "Haus der Begegnung".

Theo Fellheimer (b.1916) and his sister-in-law, Idel, on December 4, 1987 in the former Ichenhausen synagogue

Photograph, Detlef Böttcher, Günzburg

7.2.5

Bitterness prevails amongst many visitors as well as among those who stayed away about the treatment that they experienced during the Third Reich.

"I was deeply affected and hurt by the treatment that the population of Ichenhausen permitted their long-established Jewish fellow citizens and their institutions to suffer during the Hitler era.
I believe that in no part of Swabia where Jews had been resident was anyone treated as harshly as they were in Ichenhausen."
(J.K., 1947)
She did not want to "get even", but to put a stop to the tale that the people of Ichenhausen had nothing to do with the November pogrom. "Who took our silver, then?" she asks, "It is hardly likely to have been somone from Berlin."
(I.G., 1988)
7.2.6
Robert Samuels from California, whose great-grandfather, Louis Gerstle, emigrated to San Francisco around 1850, looked for traces of his family in Ichenhausen in 1977, accompanied by his children.
Robert Samuels with Jeffrey, Jill and Jane
Photograph, C. Samuels, Portola Valley, 1977
7.2.7
Moritz Schmid, a local politician, has committed himself to raising awareness about the Jewish heritage of Ichenhausen.
Moritz Schmid with the family of Rafael Frank, son of the last rabbi of Ichenhausen
Photograph, 1990
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen

7.1.4

8
The Frank Estate

Scarcely anything has been preserved from amongst countless objects that would have been part of the daily life of Ichenhausen's Jews. The only sizeable group of objects to survive are part of the Moritz Frank family estate.
The most significant items in the estate are the Hebrew books. They show what was used by a strictly religious Jewish household for daily and festival prayer, as well as for studying the holy scriptures. Amongst the remaining objects from the estate, only the simple Chanukkah lamp and the Sabbath bread cloth have clear religious functions.
Moritz Frank
(b. Ichenhausen 1871, d. Theresienstadt 1943)
ran a grocery store until the "Elimination of German Jews from business life" in 1938. Frank belonged to Ichenhausen's city council from 1919-1929 as a member of the SPD. He was an observant Jew.
Raphael Frank
(b. Ichenhausen 1867, d. Leipzig 1920)
brother of Moritz, was a cantor and teacher in Simmern, Neuss, Halle and Leipzig. Some of the volumes on display originally belonged to him.
Salomon Frank
(b. Ichenhausen 1875, deported 1942)
a younger brother, was a teacher at the Jewish schools in Buttenwiesen and Fischach. His son, Gerhard Frank, was the last rabbi of Ichenhausen.

8.1.1
Chanukkah lamp
19th century
Pewter, bench form
Lamps for the festival of Chanukkah have eight lights.
These are lit successively, using a ninth light (servant light), on the eight evenings of the festival.
8.1.2
Sabbath Cloth
c.1900
Linen, cotton embroidery and pillow lace
Hebrew inscription: Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy
On the eve of the Sabbath, the cloth is laid over the bread before the blessing.

8.1.3
2 shirts, trousers
Early 20th century
Linen
It is more likely that these three pieces were intended for daily
rather than religious use (as a death shroud for instance).
8.1.4
Curtains
Early 20th century
Raw linen with broderie anglaise
The six narrow strips might served as decoration for two windows.
The embroidery is in keeping with the "reform style" of the turn of the century.
8.1.5
2 copper pots
Early 20th century
Tinned
8.1.6
Family songs for Friday night
Frankfurt am Main, 1922
8.1.7
Pentateuch
Rödelheim, 1904
Five volumes
8.1.8
Pentateuch and Haftaroth
Berlin, 1937/38
Edited by Joseph Hermann Hertz
5 volumes
One of the last Jewish books to be published during the Nazi regime.
8.1.9
Pentateuch fragment
with Aramaic translation and commentary by Rashi
Rödelheim, 1860
5 parts in 2 volumes
(Former property of Rafael Frank)
8.1.10
Shulchan Arukh
Warsaw, 1891
The definitive ritual and law codex of the Torah-true Jewish religion.
8.1.11
The Book of Solomon the Preacher
Textbook for learning prayers
Hannover, 1868
8.1.12

Festival prayer book:
Prayers for Passover; the Feast of Weeks; the New Year; the Day of Atonement; the Feast of Tabernacles; the Eighth Day of Holy Convocation and the Rejoicing of the Law
Rödelheim, 1884-89
9 parts in 5 volumes
8.1.13
Part of a festival prayer book:
Prayers for the Day of Atonement, Prayers for the New Year
Rödelheim, 1894, 1898
4 parts in 2 volumes
8.1.14
Lamentations for Tisha b'Av
Rödelheim,1880
Edited by S. Baer
(Former possession of Rafael Frank)
8.1.15
Siddur Sephat Emet
(Prayer book)
Rödelheim, 1910
Edition B, edited by Wolf Heidenheim
8.1.16
Siddur Sefer Berura
(Prayer book)
Rödelheim, 1841
Edited and translated by Wolf Heidenheim
8.1.17
Prayer book fragment
(Unidentifiable)
19th century
8.1.18
Reading book for children, by Salomo Beerman
(Hebrew-Russian)
Warsaw, 1903
2 volumes
(Former possession of Rafael Frank)
8.1.19
Writing exercises
Probably from Hebrew instruction given to Moritz Frank's children

8.1.20
Bookmark in the shape of the Tablets of the Law
with prayers and sayings
Late 19th century
Lithograph

8.2
Studying the holy scriptures is central to the Jewish faith.
Nephews of Moritz Frank, at their studies:
Gerhard Frank (b. Buttenwiesen, 1912) and his brother Justin
(b.Buttenwiesen, 1916)
c.1935
Photograph
Bertha Frank-Zimmer, Denver

9
Remembrance - Commemoration

Jews lived in Ichenhausen for 400 years. The first settled around 1541 - the last were transported to the Auschwitz concentration camp on March 8, 1943.
The pictures which remind us of the lives of these people mostly date from the last two decades of Jewish life in Ichenhausen. They show the faces of individuals and families, but also depict street scenes and everyday situations.
The memorial book commemorates the Jews who lived in Ichenhausen from 1933 to 1943. The fates of 437 people are recorded in it.

172	succeeded in emigrating
55	moved to unknown destinations
49	died in Ichenhausen
125	were deported from Ichenhausen
36	were deported from other German cities
2	were murdered in euthanasia institutions
2	committed suicide in the face of imminent deportation

9.1
Memorial book for the the Jewish inhabitants of Ichenhausen who were registered between January 30, 1933 and March 8, 1943.

9.2
Texts to photographs in the Memorial Room

1
Hermann Reichenberger, co-owner of the Sulzer company,
emigrated to the USA in 1940 and died in Chicago, 1944.
Photograph, 1929
Werner Reichenberger, Kempfenhausen
2
Relatives and employees in front of Saly Dollmann's clothing factory,
18, Günzburger Strasse.
Photograph, 1930
Gernot Römer, Neusäss
3
Carl Laemmle (sitting, with hat), the famous film producer,
on a visit to his relatives in Ichenhausen; the Heller, Löwenstein
and Weglein families, in 1928.
Photograph, 1928
Gernot Römer, Neusäss

4
Family portrait taken on the 70th birthday of Peppi Gerstle (center)
in front of the sukkah in the garden of their property, 4, Vordere Ostergasse.
Photograph, 1932
Family Pawellek, Ichenhausen
5
Julie Wachenheimer with her sons Walter (left) and David, at the window of their
apartment, whose current address is 5, Von-Stain-Strasse.
Photograph, c.1936
Walter Wachenheimer, Manchester
6
Gerhard Frank, last rabbi of Ichenhausen, with his parents Salomon and Johanna,
in Ichenhausen. Gerhard Frank was murdered in Auschwitz, in October, 1944. His
parents were deported to Theresienstadt in 1942.
Photograph, 1937
Bertha Frank-Zimmer, Denver
7
Simon Schwab (b.1908), Ichenhausen "Distrikts-Rabbiner" with his children,
Moses, Jutta and Joseph in the garden of the rabbinic building.
The family emigrated to Baltimore, USA in December, 1936.
Photograph, c.1936
Moses L. Schwab, New York
8
Recha Schwab (b.1908), wife of Rabbi Simon Schwab, in the garden
of the rabbinic building with her children, Moses and Jutta.
Photograph, 1934
Moses L. Schwab, New York
9
Cattle trader Josef Schendel with his wife Sophie
and their daughters Erika and Gerda. All four later emigrated.
Photograph, c.1928
Hans and Rosi Schendel, Hod Hasharon
10
Sisters Sara Erlanger (1856-1937), Charlotte Bernheimer and Fanny Aufhäuser
(1855-1931): three of the fifteen children of Babette and Isak Gerstle.
Photograph, c.1925
Ephraim Grünebaum, Jerusalem
11
Jewish and Christian children on the wagon belonging to cattle trader
Isidor Aufhäuser, in front of his house whose current address is 12, Wiesgasse.
Photograph, 1925
Ephraim Grünebaum, Jerusalem

12
Husband and wife Aaron (1852-1931) and Fanny Heller,
surrounded by their daughters, son-in-laws and grandchildren.
Photograph, 1925
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
13
Jewish wedding party in front of the synagogue.
Photograph, c.1925
Franz Emminger, Burgau
14
Bella Harburger (b.1906), a daughter of cattle trader Sigmund Harburger
and his wife Jeanette, was deported from Ichenhausen on April 1, 1942.
Photograph, c.1938
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
15
The Weimersheimer family, business people by trade,
in front of their house, 2, Zweiggasse.
Photograph, c.1914
Gernot Römer, Neusäss
16
Family of cattle trader Nathan Gerstle and his wife Sophie (front center), together
with his brother, their children, sons and daughters-in-law and grandchildren
in front of their house, 9, Vordere Ostergasse. Nathan Gerstle died in Ichenhausen
in 1934. His wife Sophie was deported in 1942 and murdered in Auschwitz.
Photograph, after 1930
Gernot Römer, Neusäss
17
A cheerful young group of Jews and Christians at the Café Zuckermeier: Julius
Frank, Rosi Erlanger and Theo Mann between two non-Jewish couples. Julius and
Rosi managed to emigrate. Theo Mann was deported.
Photograph, c.1927
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
18
Brothers Heinrich and Ludwig Seligmann in the new car belonging
to their father, Isaak Seligmann. Both emigrated to Palestine.
Photograph, c.1920
Dr. Rafael Seligmann, Munich
19
Employees of the Seligmann family in front of their business premises
at 9, Marktstrasse.
Photograph, 1926
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen

20
Rosi Erlanger, business employee, married employee Hans Schendel, a few days before their emigration to Palestine.
Photograph, 1936
Hans and Rosi Schendel, Hod Hasharon
21
Jews and Christians at the Ichenhausen swimming pool.
Amongst them are Justin Stern (first row, second from right),
Heinrich Seligmann (second row, third from left)
and Hans Schendel (second row, second from right).
All three later emigrated.
Photograph, c.1928
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
22
Christian and Jewish neighbours on the street which is currently known as Von-Stain-Strasse, in front of the house of Emminger, the cobbler.
Both children of businessman Isaak Koschland and his wife Henriette:
Liesl (in the white dress) and Heinz (in the checkered jumper)
were deported with their parents in 1942.
Photograph, c.1928
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
23
Mardi Gras, 1927, Jewish and Christian children celebrate
together in the Café Wieser.
In the front row are: Adolf Mann (third from left), Heinz Koschland (sixth from left), Liesl Koschland (seventh from left) and Lotte Mann (fifth from right). All four were later deported.
Senzi Schweimayer, Ichenhausen
24
Recha Fröhlich a few weeks before her marriage to Rabbi Simon Schwab.
Photograph, 1931
Moses L. Schwab, New York
25
Hugo Henle (b.1902) was the oldest son of businessman Max Henle
and his wife Pauline.
He was a tobacco sales representative and emigrated to the USA in 1939,
together with his wife Josefine.
Photograph, c.1933
Karen Franklin, New York
26
Klara Seligmann (b.1884) with her husband, owner of a shop
at 9, Marktstrasse, shortly after their emigration to Palestine.
Photograph, 1935
Dr. Rafael Seligmann, Munich

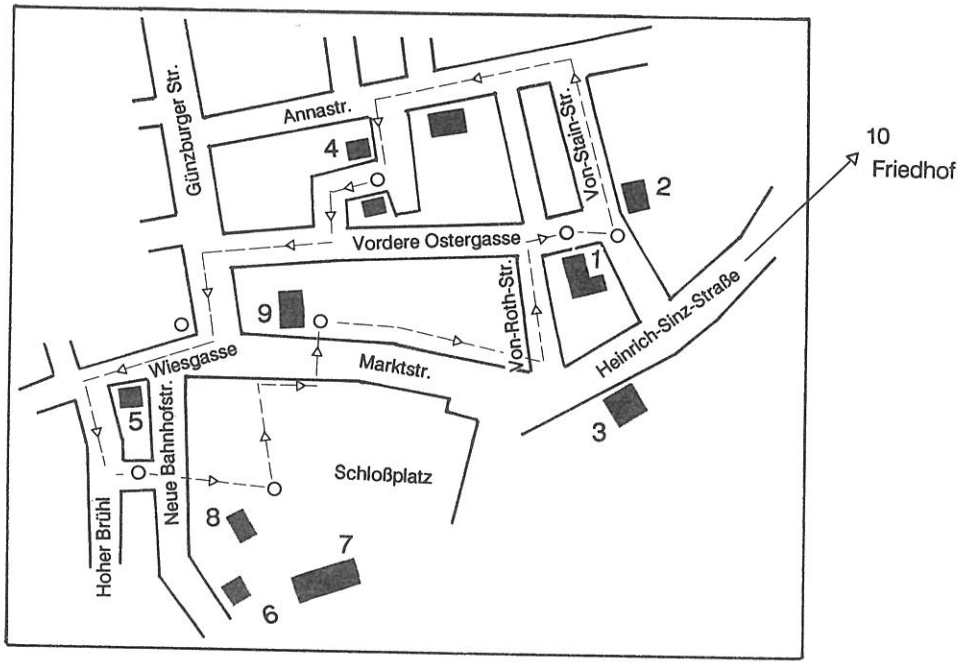
27
David Wachenheimer (b.1920) was the older son of Hermann Wachenheimer, master tailor, and his wife Julie. He moved to Breslau in 1938
and was deported from there.
Photograph, c.1927
Walter Wachenheimer, Manchester
28
Simon and Anna Abrahams' dry goods store, its present-day address is 3, Wiesgasse.
Photograph, c.1900
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
29
The Aufhäuser brothers: (from left to right), Rudolf (1881-1956),
Gustav (b.1883), Emil (1878-1942), Isidor (1884-1942) and Leo (b.1886).
Rudolf, Gustav and Leo set up a shoe wholesale business in Frankfurt around 1905, and later emigrated to the USA. Isidor and Emil carried on Samuel Aufhäuser's cattle trading business at 8, Wiesgasse, Ichenhausen.
They were both deported from Holland.
Photograph, c.1916
Ephraim Grünebaum, Jerusalem
30
Walter Wachenheimer, younger son of Julie and Hermann Wachenheimer (both of whom were tailors), emigrated to England in 1939.
Manchester, Walter Wachenheimer
31
Sali Mann (at the window) and three of his children with two Christian girls who were neighbours, in front of their house, 38, Marktstrasse.
The oldest daughter, Martha, moved to Fürth in 1934. Adolf and Lotte
(second and third from left) were deported with their father in 1942.
Photograph, c.1927/28
Senzi Schweimayer, Ichenhausen
32
Cattle trader Samuel Aufhäuser (rear center) with his wife Fanny (left),
son-in-law Louis Grünebaum (rear left) and daughter Julie, who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1943.
Photograph, c.1909
Ephraim Grünebaum, Jerusalem
33
Cattle trader Benno Fellheimer and his wife Emma in front of their house, 2 Frühlingstrasse. Both were deported and perished.
Photograph, 1938
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen

34
The Kleinördlingers, a family of Jewish bakers, in front of their house, 11,Vordere Ostergasse (front left), with children from the neighbourhood.
Photograph, c.1900
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
35
Pupils from the Jewish school with their teacher, Nandor Fruchter.
Photograph, c.1928/29
Gernot Römer, Neusäss
36
The Regensburger siblings. Front from left to right: Pauline Henle, Hansl Frankenheimer, Emma Erlanger, Mina Gutmann. Rear: Max, Wilhelm and Martin. The three brothers and Mina succeeded in emigrating. Pauline, Hansl and Emma were deported and murdered.
Photograph, c.1930
Moritz Schmid, Ichenhausen
37
Gerhard Frank, the last rabbi of Ichenhausen, with his wife Bertha and son Raphael in the Westerbork camp.
Photograph, 1943
Dr. Raphael Frank, Michigan
38
Rosi Reichenberger (b.1899), a baby nurse, third of the five children of manufacturer Naphtali Reichenberger and his wife Frieda. Rosi was murdered in the Sonnenberg "euthanasia" institution near Dresden in 1940.
Photograph, c.1933
Herbert Auer, Krumbach
39
Naphtali Reichenberger (1865-1942), owner of the Sulzer company, in his house 42, Marktstrasse. He died five days after the first deportation from Ichenhausen.
Photograph, c.1935
Herbert Auer, Krumbach
40
Gerda, Hans and Erika Schendel, the three children of cattle trader Josef Schendel and his wife Sophie.
Photograph, c.1934
Hans and Rosi Schendel, Hod Hasharon

34

18

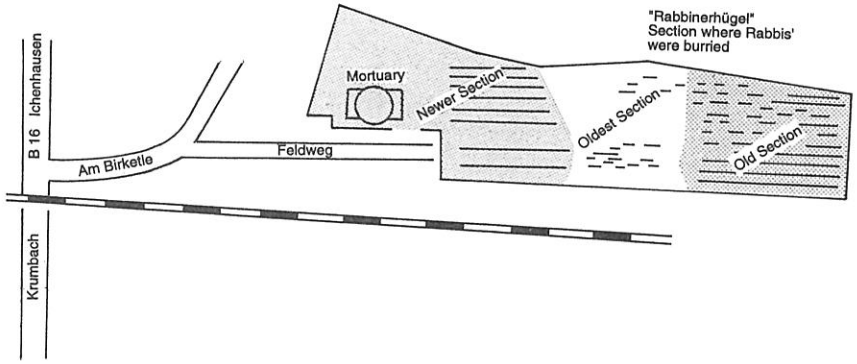
Places of importance
for the Jewish History of Ichenhausen



1
Synagogue and old rabbinic building
built in 1781
today Haus der Begegnung
2
New rabbinic building
residence and office of the district-rabbi
built in 1894
today Kreisarchiv
3
Lower Castle
during the time of divided rule,
seat of one branch of the noble lords of Ichenhausen
built in 1566
today Town-Hall

4
Annastraße 20; Hintere Ostergasse 6/8 and 9/11
multiple dwellings, built for Jewish families
built c. 1800
today private dwellings
5
Friedberger House
built in 1763
the most impressive Jewish house at Ichenhausen,
once containing a ritual bath
today private dwellings and shop
6
Neue Bahnhofsstraße 11
place of the ritual bath from 1808,
official apartment of the cantor
today private dwelling
7
Upper Castle
seat of the noble lords of Ichenhausen
built in 1697
today School-Museum
8
Kindergarten
for Christian and Jewish children
built in 1913
9
Markstraße 3-5
Seat of the Sulzer manswear factory,
once the most important firm of Ichenhausen
10.
Jewish cemetery

Cemetery


"Rabbinerhügel"
Section where Rabbis'
were burried
Mortuary
Newer Section
Oldest Section
Old Section
B 16 Ichenhausen
Am Birketle
Feldweg
Krumbach